Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00648 01 OF 04 010959Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /087 W
----------017667 011010Z /11
R 010907Z DEC 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2516
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0648

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC MINISTERS

AT ITS NOVEMBER 30 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED THE
TEXT OF THE REPORT ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MBFR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00648 01 OF 04 010959Z

NEGOTIATIONS TO BE SENT TO THE NAC FOR THE DECEMBER NATO
MINISTERIAL MEETING. THE TEXT OF THE REPORT FOLLOWS BELOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

I. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

1. THIS REPORT BY THE AD HOC GROUP ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE BEGINNING OF MAY 1977 TO 1 DECEMBER 1977.

2. DURING THIS PERIOD, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA HAVE CONCENTRATED ON AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY OF ABOUT 176,000 MEN BETWEEN THE FIGURE OF 987,000 TABLED BY THE EAST ON 10 JUNE 1976 FOR THE TOTAL PERSONNEL STRENGTH OF WARSAW PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 AND THE LATEST NATO AGREED ESTIMATE THAT THESE WARSAW PACT FORCES COMPRISED A TOTAL OF 1,163,000 MEN.

3. IT HAS BEEN CLEAR SINCE MARCH OF THIS YEAR THAT IDENTIFYING THE SOURCES OF THIS LARGE DISCREPANCY WOULD REQUIRE SUBDIVISION OF THE DATA PREVIOUSLY INTRODUCED BY THE EAST IN ORDER TO CREATE A BASIS FOR A DETAILED COMPARISON BY WESTERN EXPERTS BETWEEN WESTERN DATA ON PACT FORCES AND WARSAW PACT DATA ON PACT FORCES. AS A FIRST STEP, THE WEST HAS TO OBTAIN ENOUGH DETAILED DATA FROM THE EAST TO OBTAIN A PROFILE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISCREPANCY AMONG WARSAW PACT FORCES AND OF ITS EXTENT IN EACH CASE. SINC MARCH, EASTERN AND WESTERN REPS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN AN INTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF A SERIES OF PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY BOTH SIDES WITH A VIEW TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON A METHOD OF DISAGGREGATION TO BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR THE EXCHANGE OF FURTHER DATA. (DETAILS IN ANNEX A).

4. THE QUESTION OF SUBMITTING FURTHER DETAILED FIGURES WAS STILL NOT SETTLED AS OF 1 DECEMBER. HOWEVER, A MEASURE OF EAST-WEST AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON A METHOD OF EXCHANGE WHICH CONTAINS MANY IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD BY THE WEST ON 15 JULY. THE MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES CONCERN (A) THE EAST'S EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE RIGHT OF THE WEST TO ASK FOR FURTHER DETAILED DATA IN THE FUTURE AND (B) THE MODALITIES OF EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA.

5. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE A DEFINITIVE FORECAST, THE POSSIBILITY REMAINS THAT THESE ISSUES MIGHT BE RESOLVED THROUGH A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE EASTERN POSITION IN TIME TO PERMIT A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF DATA BEFORE THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND REACHES ITS SCHEDULED END ON DECEMBER 15.

6. PARALLEL WITH THE DISCUSSION OF DATA, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE CONTINUED TO PRESS FOR EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. IN THIS REGARD, IT IS THE CONSENSUS OF THE AD HOC GROUP THAT THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION AT NATO COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE ATTAINMENT OF OVERALL WESTERN GOALS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS,

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

INCLUDING ULTIMATE AGREEMENT ON A DATA BASE FOR REDUCTIONS AND
LIMITATIONS. THE GROUP BELIEVES THAT, FROM A TACTICAL POINT OF
VIEW, IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE WEST TO HAVE THIS
INITIATIVE APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT
IT IS READY FOR PRESENTATION IN VIENNA AT A TIME WHICH THE
COUNCIL CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE.

7. DESPITE SOME LIMITED INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE
EASTERN POSITION (SEE ANNEX) THE CURRENT EASTERN TACTIC IN THE
NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUES TO BE ONE OF MARKING TIME. WESTERN
PRESS LEAKS HAVE LED EASTERN NEGOTIATORS TO CONSIDER THAT
AN INITIATIVE WILL BE PRESENTED IN VIENNA IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR
FUTURE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD SEEM UNREALISTIC TO
EXPECT A MORE FORTHCOMING EASTERN ATTITUDE ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00648 01 OF 04 010959Z

UNTIL THE WEST PUTS FORWARDS ITS NEW PROPOSALS.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00648 02 OF 04 011010Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /087 W
----------017765 011011Z /11
R 010907Z DEC 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2517
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0648

ANNEX A

CHRONOLOGY OF SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE VIENNA TALKS

A. DATA DISCUSSION

1. A DISCUSSION OF PREVIOUSLY TABLED DATA, AND OF THE COUNTING RULES USED RESPECTIVELY BY EAST AND WEST TO ASSEMBLE THAT DATA, ENSUED FOLLOWING THE INTRODUCTION BY THE WEST IN DECEMBER 1976 OF UPDATED MANPOWER FIGURES FOR AIR AND GROUND FORCES OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE REDUCTION AREA. BY MARCH OF THIS YEAR, THIS

SECRET

SECRET

DISCUSSION MADE CLEAR THAT A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF MORE DETAILED DATA WOULD BE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE LARGE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FIGURES FOR THE PERSONNEL STRENGTH OF THE RELEVANT WARSAW PACT FORCES.

2. THE EAST SUGGESTED IN MARCH THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD EXCHANGE MANPOWER DATA ON A NATIONAL BASIS FOR THE FORCES IN THE AREA OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE WEST PROPOSED THAT THE INITIAL DISAGGREGATION OF DATA SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO US AND SOVIET FORCES.

3. IN THE FACE OF DETERMINED EASTERN OPPOSITION TO THE LATTER PROPOSAL, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS PRESENTED ON JULY 15, ON INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL, A NEW, MORE DETAILED DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. SPECIFICALLY, THEY PROPOSED THAT EACH SIDE TABLE DATA ON ITS GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL DIVIDED BETWEEN PERSONNEL SERVING IN INDIVIDUALLY DESIGNATED MAJOR FORMATIONS AND THE NATIONAL COMPONENTS OF ALL REMAINING PERSONNEL, WITH THE EXCEPTION THAT THE NUMBER OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS WOULD BE SUBMITTED AS AN OVERALL TOTAL. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS FURTHER PROPOSED THAT AN ANALOGOUS PROCEDURE BE FOLLOWED TO DISAGGREGATE AIR FORCE MANPOEWER AFTER AN INITIAL DISCUSSION OF THE NEW GROUND FORCE FIGURES.

4. WHEN THE TALKS RESUMED IN SEPTEMBER, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAID THAT THE WEST'S 15 JULY PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE DATA ON THE STRENGTHS OF ALL WESTERN AND WARSAW PACT MAJOR FORMATIONS WOULD REQUIRE THE RELEASE OF SENSISTIVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF WARSAW PACT ARMED FORCES, WHICH WAS BOTH EXTRANEOUS TO THE NEEDS OF

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

THE NEGOTIATION AND RISKED NEEDLESSLY BOGGING PARTICIPANTS
SECRET

SECRET

DOWN IN MATTERS OF DETAIL WITHOUT ANY GUARANTEE THAT EAST/WEST DIFFERENCES OVER DATA WOULD BE RESOLVED. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES ARGUED THAT EXPERIENCE HAD SHOWN THAT PROGRESS IN THE DATA DISCUSSION WOULD REQUIRE MORE THAN THE EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL MANPOWER TOTALS ADVOCATED BY THE EAST AND THAT THE WESTERN DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL WAS A BETTER MEANS FOR CLARIFYING THE REASONS FOR THE DATA DISCREPANCY.

5. ON 25 OCTOBER, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PRESENTED THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE 15 JULY WESTERN DATA DISAGGREGATION PROPOSAL. THEY CHARACTERIZED THE EASTERN RESPONSE AS A COMPROMISE MOVE THAT TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE WEST'S PROPOSAL EXCEPT FOR THE
FORMATIONS, WHICH THE EAST COULD NOT POSSIBLY ACCEPT. INSTEAD, EASTERN PARTICIPANTS PROPOSED THAT THE WEST TABLE: (1) A TOTAL FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN MAJOR UNITS, AS DEFINED BY THE WEST, OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT; (2) A TOTAL FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL NOT IN MAJOR UNITS OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT; AND (3) A THIRD, COMPOSITE FIGURE FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ASSIGNED TO NATO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS IN THE AREA. THE EAST WOULD DO THE SAME EXCEPT THAT IT WOULD NOT TABLE A FIGURE FOR MULTILATERAL STAFF PERSONNEL AS THE EAST HAD NO SUCH PERSONNEL IN THE AREA. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES FURTHER PROPOSED THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN EXCHANGE OF ADDITIONAL DATA ON AIR FORCE PERSONNEL WHICH, THEY SAID, COULD COME AFTER THE EXCHANGE AND SOME DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE DATA. FINALLY, THEY ALSO PROPOSED THE EVENUAL EXCHANGE OF DATA ON THE AVERAGE MANNING LEVEL OF THE GROUND FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT, BUT STATED THAT THIS STEP WAS NOT A CONDITION FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BALANCE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.

6. ON 9 NOVEMBER, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES ON INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL, INFORMED THE EAST OF THEIR READINESS TO PROCEED TO DISAGGREGATE DATA ON
THE BASIS OF THE 15 JULY WESTERN PROPOSAL AND THE 25 OCTOBER EAST-
SECRET

SECRET

ERN RESPONSE TO THAT PROPOSAL. ACCORDINGLY, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WERE PREPARED TO PRESENT ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS THE FOLLOWING DATA VALID AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976: (1) THE OVERALL TOTAL OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN MAJOR FORMATIONS IN THE REDUCTION AREA OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND ALSO THE OVERALL TOTAL OF

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF THESE PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THAT

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00648 03 OF 04 011025Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /087 W
----------017919 011028Z /14
R 010907Z DEC 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2518
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0648

CONTAINED IN THESE MAJOR FORMATIONS AND (2) A TOTAL FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER FORMATIONS OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES CONTINUED THAT THEY WERE FURTHER PREPARED TO PRESENT (3) THE OVERALL FIGURES FOR THE GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ASSIGNED TO MULTILATERAL HEADQUARTERS IN HE AREA AND, ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS (4) THE FIGURES FOR THE REMAINING GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF EACH WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES SUGGESTED THAT THIS EXCHANGE TAKE PLACE PROMPTLY AND SAID THAT, AFTER TABLING AND DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE DATA, THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO PRESENT ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS DATA ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER DISAGGREGATED IN A

SECRET

SECRET

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

SIMILAR MANNER.

7. ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE COUNCIL, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS STATED THAT, IN TAKING THIS MOVE, THE WESTERN JULY 15 PROPOSAL REMAINED ON THE TABLE. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT IT PROVIDED THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY. THEY CONSIDERED THAT IT WAS LIKELY THAT FURTHER DISAGGREGATION OF DATA WOULD BE REQUIRED IN THE FUTURE TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY.

8. SUBSEQUENTLY, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES DECLINED TO EXCHANGE FROUNG FORCE DATA PENDING (A) AGREEMENT ON THE MODALITIES OF EXCHANGING AIR FORCE DATA AND (B) UNEQUIVOCAL WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE 25 OCTOBER EASTERN PROPOSAL, BY WHICH THE EAST MEANS THE WEST'S AGREEMENT PRIOR TO EXCHANGE OF THIS DATA NOT TO ASK FOR FURTHER DATA ON THE EAST'S MAJOR FORMATIONS. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE, IN ADDITION, EMPHASIZED THEIR INTEREST IN THEIR PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE AVERAGE MANNING LEVELS.

9. AS REGARDS EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE DATA, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES SAID THAT THEIR 25 OCTOBER PROPOSAL ONLY ENVISAGED THE EXCHANGE OF A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THE TOTAL AIR FORCE MANPOWER OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT AND REQUESTED SIMULTANEOUS EXCHANGE OF GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER. A SOVIET NEGOTIATOR SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMALLY SUGGESTED THAT, AS REGARDS EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA THE FOLLOWING MODALITIES MIGHT BE CONSIDERED:

A. PARTICIPANTS WOULD AGREE THAT DATA ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD BE EXCHANGED ON THE BASIS ALREADY AGREED.

B. THEY WOULD AGREE THAT AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA WOULD BE EXCHANGED WITHIN SEVERAL WEEKS OF EXCHANGE OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER DATA.

SECRET

SECRET

C. THIS EXCHANGE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA COULD TAKE PLACE IN THE FOLLOWING WAY: THE WEST WOULD SUBMIT ITS AIR MANPOWER DATA ALONG THE LINES OF ITS NOVEMBER 9 PROPOSAL USING THE FORMULA ON MAJOR FORMATIONS WHICH WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAD PRESENTED. THE EAST WOULD SUBMIT A SINGLE FIGURE FOR THE AIR MANPOWER OF EACH EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT AS ENVISAGED IN ITS OCTOBER 25 PROPOSAL.

D. THE EAST WOULD AT THE SAME TIME AGREE AS PART OF THIS UNDERSTANDING ON EXCHANGE OF AIR MANPOER DATA THAT IT WOULD IN THE FUTURE SUBDIVIDE ITS AIR MANPOWER FIGURES ACCORDING TO A FORMULA ON MAJOR FORMATIONS TO BE MUTUALLY AGREED.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

E. THE EAST WOULD ALSO TAKE NOTE OF THE FORMULA WHICH WEST HAD SUGGESTED FOR THIS DISAGGREGATION AND AGREE TO STUDY IT.

10. THIS SOVIET NEGOTIATOR SAID THAT THE EAST WISHED TO OBTAIN CONCURRENCE OF CAPITALS ON THESE PROPOSALS. AS YET, THERE IS NO INDICATION OF WHAT THE REACTION WILL BE.

11. THE AD HOC GROUP CONSIDERS THAT, IF CONFIRMED BY EASTERN CAPITALS, THESE MODALITIES WOULD SATISFACTORILY MEET WESTERN REQUIREMENTS.

12. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE REFUSED AND WILL CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO RELINQUISH THEIR RIGHT TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT WARSAW PACT FORCES INCLUDING REQUESTS FOR FURTHER DATA AND QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO THE STRENGTHS OF INDIVIDUAL FORMATIONS.

13. CURRENTLY, THEREFORE, BOTH OF THESE ISSUES REMAIN OUT-STANDING. HOWEVER, THERE IS STILL A POSSIBILITY THAT THEY WILL BE RESOLVED IN TIME TO PERMIT, BEFORE THE END OF THE CURRENT ROUND, A FURTHER EXCHANGE OF DATA IN A MANNER COMPATIBLE WITH THAT PROPOSED BY THE WEST ON 15 JULY, AS MODIFIED BY THE 9 NOVEMBER WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE 25 OCTOBER EASTERN PROPOSAL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00648 03 OF 04 011025Z

B. OTHER ISSUES:

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00648 04 OF 04 011027Z
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /087 W
----------017973 011030Z /14
R 010907Z DEC 77
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2519
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA POUCH
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0648

FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

BELGRADE ALSO FOR USDEL CSCE

14. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE MOVEMENT ON OTHER ISSUES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THERE WERE SOME INCONCLUSIVE INDICATIONS OF POSSIBLE EASTERN MOVEMENT TOWARD SEVERAL ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN POSITION:

(1) ALTHOUGH EASTERN REPS HAVE MAINTAINED THE OFFICIAL
SECRET

SECRET

EASTERN POSITION THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD ENCOMPASS AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD REDUCTION OF ALL MAJOR ARMAMENTS, EASTERN REPS HAVE ALSO SAID THEY WERE NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO A MORE SELECTIVE APPROACH TO THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. THEY MAY HAVE IN MIND THE FIVE TYPES OF ARMAMENTS MENTIONED IN THE EAST'S PROPOSAL OF FEBRUARY 19, 1976, NAMELY, MAIN BATTLE TANKS, NUCLEAR-CAPABLE AIRCRAFT, OPERATIONAL/TACTICAL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS, SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS, AND NUCLEAR WARHEADS. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE ALSO SAID THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS, THAT THEY SHOULD DO SO PROPORTIONATELY TO THEIR MILITARY POTENTIAL, AND THAT THE ARMAMENTS DESIGNATED FOR REDUCTION AND LIMITATION SHOULD BE THE SAME ON EACH SIDE. EASTERN REPS HAVE ASSERTED THAT THE CURRENT WESTERN APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF ARMAMENT REDUCTIONS WAS NEITHER SELECTIVE NOR EQUITABLE IN THAT THE WEST PROPOSED TO REDUCE AND LIMIT ONLY A FEW, SPECIFIED US NUCLEAR ELEMENTS WHILE EXPECTING THE EAST TO WITHDRAW A WHOLE SOVIET TANK ARMY, WITH RESULTANT LIMITATIONS NOT ONLY ON TANKS, BUT ON ALL ARMAMENTS OF SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA. THIS TOPIC IS ADDRESSED IN THE WESTER INITIATIVE UNDER DISCUSSION IN NATO.

(2) WHILE CONTINUING TO ADVOCATE THE IMPOSITION OF NATIONAL CEILINGS, EASTERN REPS HAVE TWICE ALLUDED IN PLENARY

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

STATEMENTS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF FINDING A SOLUTION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SUCH NATIONAL CEILINGS TO THE PROBLEM OF MAINTAINING THE OVERALL RESIDUAL FORCE RELATIONSHIP IN THE EVENT OF SUBSEQUENT UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS ON ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. THESE STATEMENTS CAN BE CONSIDERED AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY THE EAST THAT THE EAST'S APPROACH TO NATIONAL CEILINGS HAS TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM THAT, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, IT WOULD REQUIRE THE OVERALL LEVEL PERMITTED ONE SIDE TO BE LOWERED IN ACCORDANCE WITH POSSIBLE UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS ON THAT SIDE.

SECRET

SECRET

(3) WHILE REITERATING THE EASTERN REQUIREMENT FOR A BINDING PRIOR GUARANTEE THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES, EASTERN REPS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED READINESS TO CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVE WESTERN PROPOSAL CONCERNING REDUCTION COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN A FIRST STAGE BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS REGARDING THEIR SECOND STAGE REDUCTIONS. THIS TOPIC, TOO, IS ADDRESSED IN THE WESTERN INITIATIVE.

(4) AFTER AN EXPLICIT EASTERN STATEMENT AT THE END OF THE LAST ROUND THAT THE EAST HAD REJECTED THE WEST'S DECEMBER 1975 NUCLEAR WITHDRAWAL PROPOSALS, EASTERN REPS HAVE IN THE CURRENT ROUND ASKED A SERIES OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE LIMITATIONS ENVISAGED IN THE DECEMBER 1975 WESTERN INITIATIVE. END TEXT RESOR

SECRET

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NEGOTIATIONS, MEETING REPORTS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 01-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MBFRV00648
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770445-0331
Format: TEL
From: MBFR VIENNA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197712105/aaaadlha.tel
Line Count: 524
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 6cf6cefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 113459
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC MINISTERS AT ITS NOVEMBER 30 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED THE TEXT OF THE REPORT ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE MB
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6cf6cefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009